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Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 AF-10 IO-13 EA-10 ISO-00 HA-05 CIAE-00
DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05
PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 ACDA-12 /111 W
----------016048 081642Z /53
R 080906Z MAR 78
FM AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 882
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
AMEMBASSY BERLIN
AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST
AMEMBASSY LISBON
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MADRID
AMEMBASSY MOGADISCIO
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY SOFIA
AMEMBASSY WARSAW
AMCONSUL MUNICH
USMISSION GENEVA
USMISSION USNATO

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 BUDAPEST 985

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: CSCE PARM PGOV PROP SHUM HU XG XH
SUBJECT: BUDAPEST MEETING OF COMMUNIST IDEOLOGUES FEB 27-MAR 1

REF: (A) BUDAPEST 910 (B) STATE 57415 (BOTH NOTAL)

SUMMARY: EMBASSY SOURCES IN BUDAPEST TEND TO CONFIRM DEPART-
MENT'S ANALYSIS IN REF (B) OF THE SUBJECT MEETING. ONE ADDI-
TIONAL POINT: THE BLANDNESS OF THE COMMUNIPXE GWD THE
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APPARENT LACK OF ACRIMONY AT THE MEETING WAS DUE TO A LARGE
PART OF CAREFUL PREPARATION BY THE HUNGARIAN PARTY AND THE
KEY ROLE IT PLAYED AS HOST. WHILE THERE C SOME
DIFFERENCE IN OPINION ABOUT WHETHER THE LANGUAGE OF
THE COMMUNIQUE REPRESENTS A FURTHER COMMITMENT BY THE
USSR TO DETENTE, ALL EMBASSY SOURCES AGREE THAT NOTHING
TRANSPIRED AT THE MEETING WHICH SHOULD ROCK THE DETENTE

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BOAT. IN SHORT, THE BUDAPEST MEETING IN MANY WAYS WAS THE SORT OF NON-EVENT WHICH THE HUNGARIAN PARTY AIMS FOR WHEN DEALING WITH CONTROVERSIAL ISSUES WITHIN THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT. END SUMMARY

1. SINCE OUR PRELIMINARY ANALYSIS TRANSMITTED REFTEL (A), WE HAVE TALKED TO THE YUGOSLAVS AND ROMANIANS HERE, AS WELL AS STUDIED HUNGARIAN EDITORIAL COMMENT ABOUT THE FEB 27-MAR 1 BUDAPEST MEETING OF COMMUNIST IDEALOGUES. BOTH OUR ROMANIAN AND YUGOSLAV SOURCES CONFIRM THE BRIEFING WE RECEIVED FROM A PARTY SOURCE REPORTED REFTEL (A) TO THE EFFECT THAT THE MEETING PRO-CEEDED HARMONIOUSLY. OUR ROMANIAN SOURCE ATTRIBUTED THIS OUTCOME TO A LARGE DEGREE TO THE ADROIT WAY IN WHICH THE HUNGARIAN PARTY PREPARED FOR AND ORGANIZED THE MEETING.

2. ACCORDING TO BOTH THE YUGOSLAVS AND ROMANIANS, EACH PARTICIPATING DELEGATION MADE TWO PRESENTATIONS: THE FIRST, A REPORT ON ITS FOREIGN POLICY; THE SECOND, A REPORT ON ITS IDEOLOGICAL APPROACH TO CURRENT INTERNA-TIONAL AND DOMESTIC ISSUES. THERE WAS NO DEBATE, ONLY THESE FORMAL PRESENTATIONS. THE HUNGARIAN PARTY ORGANIZED THE MEETING IN THIS WASY IN CONFORMITY WITH ITS POLICY OF EACH PARTY DIRECTING ITS OWN AFFAIRS, WITH NO INTERFERENCE FROM OTHERS, AND NO CONFIDENTIAL

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CRITICISM OF OTHER PARTIES' POLICIES. IN THE PREPA-RATORY MEETING WHICH TOOK PLACE IN BUDAPEST AT THE BEGINNING OF FEBRUARY, THE HUNGARIAN PARTY HAD LAID DOWN CERTAIN GUIDELINES WHICH RESTRICTED CRITICISM OF EITHER OTHER PARTICIPATING PARTIES OR PARTIES WHICH WERE NOT PRESENT (CHINA). THIS AGENDA, COUPLED WITH THE FACT THAT THE MEETING TOOK PLACE IN BUDAPEST, RESULTED IN THE MEETNG BEING CONDUCTED ALONG THE LINES THE HUNGARIANS WISHED.

3. YUGOSLAVS HAVE PROVIDED FURTHER INFORMATION WITH RESPECT TO INVITATIONS ISSUED FOR MEETING. ACCORDING TO THEM, VIETNAM WAS ORIGINALLY INVITED AS A FULL PARTI-CIPANT BUT CHANGED TO OBSERVER SHORTLY BEFORE MEETING OUT OF OBVIOUS DESIRE NOT TO OFFEND CHINESE ANY MORE THAN NECESSARY. REPORTEDLY, VIETNAMESE EXPECTED TO GET SUPPORT IN COMMUNIQUE FOR THEIR POSITION TOWARDS CAMBODIA BUT THIS WAS FRUSTRATED BY ROMANIANS WHO DENIED CONSENSUS. PRESENCE OF ROMANIA AT MEETING, OF COURSE, ALSO PREVENTED ANY IDEOLOGICAL STAND INIMICAL TO CHINESE BUT WE DO NOT KNOW IF ANY ATTEMPT WAS MADE TO TAKE AN ANTI-CHINESE EUTITUDE BY OTHER CP'S. YUGO-

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SLAVS ALSO SAY THAT INVITATIONS WERE ISSUED TO NORTH KOREA AND LAOS BUT DECLINED BY BOTH.

4. EMBASSY'S YUGOSLAV SOURCE FELT THAT MILDNESS OF COMMUNIQUE IN EAST-WEST TERMSIXSUGGESTED THAT SOVIET UNION DOES NOT WISH TO UPSET OR RETARD DETENTE IN ANY WAY. THUS, HE REASONED, THERE WERE POSITIVE REFERENCES TO HELSINKI AND THE CSCE PROCESS (BUT NOT BELGRADE). CRITICISMS OF WEST IN GENERAL WERE TARA GETED ONLY AT REACTIONARY CIRCLES AND ALTHOUGH STRIFE IN HORN WAS ALLUDED TO, IT WAS NOT MENTIONED DIRECTLY.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 BUDAPEST 0985

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (TEXT)

5. OUR ROMANIAN SOURCE AGREED THAT THE BLAND LANGUAGE OF THE COMMUNIQUE WAS DESIGNED NOT TO ROCK THE DETENTE

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BOAT. HE WAS NOT SURE, HOWEVER, IF THIS LANGUAGE WAS
MORE A RESULT OF SOVIET POLICY OR REFLECTED THE HUNGA-
RIAN EXPERTISE AT ORGANIZING A NON-CONFRONTATIONAL MEETING.

6. THE LACK OF DEBATE AND CRITICISM AT THE MEETING
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DOES NOT MEAN THAT THE VIEWS EXPRESSED WERE UNANIMOUS.
IN FACT, OUR ROMANIAN SOURCE EMPHASIZED, STRIKINGLY
DIVERGENT VIEWS WERE EXPRESSED ON SEVERAL CURRENT ISSUES.
HE MENTIONED THE OBVIOUS EXAMPLE OF THE ROMANIAN POSI-
TION AT BELGRADE. OTHER DIPLOMATIC SOURCES IN BUDAPEST (TO WHICH
WE GIVE LESS CREDENCE) CRITICIZED FOR THEIR STANCE AT BELGRADEN AND
THAT THE VIETNAMESE HAD TO WORK HARD TO AVOID ANY ANTI-CHINESE
SLANT TO THE COMMUNIQUE.

7. WHEN THE DELEGATIONS DEPARTED, NEPSZABADSAG PUB-
LISHED AN EDITORIAL WHICH FOLLOWED THE LINE OF THE
COMMUNIQUE BUT STATES A BIT MORE INCISIVELY THE HUN-
GARIAN PARTY POSITION. NEPSZABADSAG STATED THAT
DETENTE CONTINUES TO EXERCISE A DECISIVE INFLUENCE ON
INTERNATIONAL SITUATION. IN PAST A STRUGGLE HAD TO
BE WAGED TO GET WEST TO RECOGNIZE REALITIES AND CON-
CLUDE AGREEMENTS BUT IN CURRENT SITUATION CONSOLIDA-
TION AND IMPLEMENTATION OF AGREEMENTS ARE IN FOREFRONT,
PAPER SAID. ALTHOUGH SOCIALIST STATES WITNESSED A
CAMPAIGN OF SLANDER AT BELGRADE, THEY WILL NOT PERMIT
THEMSLEVES TO BE SHAKEN FROM PATH AIMED AT IMPLEMENTA-
TION OF PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE, THE EDITORIAL CONTINUED.
TOP PRIORITIES MUST GO TO FRUSTRATE THE U.S. MANEUVER
LEADING TO A NEW PHASE OF ARMAMENTS RACE AND AGAINST
U.S. PLANS TO DEPLOY THE NEUTRON BOMB. AFTER PLUG
FOR INTERNATIONALIST SOLIDARITY AND PROLETARIAN
INTERNATIONALISM, NEPSZABADSAG POINTED OUT EVERY
COMMUNIST PARTY'S INDEPENDENCE AND EQUALITY. SHAPING
THEIR STRATEGIES AND TACTICS INDEPENDENTLY THEY CAN
REACH THE SAME TARGET THROUGH DIFFERENT ROADS RESPECT-
ING THE PATH COVERED BY OTHERS AND THEIR HISORICAL
EXPERIENCE, THE PAPER WROTE. IT DID NOT FAIL MEN-
TION THAT BOURGEOISIE IS ATTEMPTING TO DIVIDE THE
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COMMUNIST MOVEMENT.

8. EMBASSY NOTES ALSO THAT LENGTHY STATEMENT GIVEN
TO PRAVDA BY PONAMAREV UPON HIS RETURNTO MOSCOW, AS

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REPORTED BY HUNGARIAN PRESS AGENCY, ALSO FOLLOWS
LINES OF COMMUNIQUE. COMMUNIQUE, NEPSZABADSAG AND
PONAMAREV ALL STRESS IN ORDER OF PRIORITY; (1) DETENTE,
(2) DISARMAMENT AND STRUGGLE AGAINST ITS REACTIONARY
OPPONENTS IN WEST, AND COMMUNIST SOLIDARITY AND
IDEOLOGICAL-POLITICAW
COOPERATION.

9. COMMENT: APPARENTLY COMMON INTRA-COMMUNIST
PARTY POSITIONS ON KEY ISSUES HAVE NOT DEVELOPED
BEYOND THOSE AGREED ON AT BERLIN IN 1976. EXCEPT FOR
RALLYING AROUND OBVIOUS POINTS SUCH AS THE ER/RB
WEAPON, THERE WAS LITTLE THE PARTIES COULD AGREE ON.
POSSIBLE DISAGREEMENTS ON SOME INTERNATIONAL ISSUES,
SUCH AS BLOC INVOLVEMENT IN AFRICA AND CSCE TACTICS,
AS WELL AS THE CRITICAL BUT UNSETTLED STATE OF THE
COMMUNIST PARTIES IN FRANCE AND ITALY, APPARENTLY
PRECLUDED ANYTHING BUT BLAND LANGUAGE IN THE COMMUNI-
QUE ON THESE POINTS. THIS OUTCOME WILL NOT BE AT ALL DISPELEASING
TO THE HOST, THE HUNGARIAN PARTY, WHICH WISHES TO AVOID
LIKE THE PLAGUE CRITICISM OF ONE PARTY OF ANOTHER. IT
APPEARS TO US AS IF THE BUDAPEST MEETING WILL GO
DOWN IN HISTORY AS A NON-EVENT.
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